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ABSTRACT

Founded on a systems model of political processes and a review of studies relating values to political controls, 90 value items were administered to "mainstream" and "eddy" (dissenting) groups, including moderate and radical students, Rotarians, member of the New Democratic Coalition, Navy enlisted men, and Navy brig prisoners for the purpose of (a) devising an instrument for measuring politically relevant values and (b) exploring the values dynamics underlying dissent. Ten factored scales were identified, some of which discriminated among the separate samples. All samples concurred on values basic to democratic processes but differed in their perceptions of the implementation of those ideals, and their own political influence. Data analysis revealed several ways in which the instrument may be improved, yet the scores obtained conformed well with known features of the samples. (Author)

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VALUES AND PUBLIC DISSENT:

I - PRELIMINARY MEASURES

F. K. Berrien and Floyd D. Turner

Rutgers University - The State University of New Jersey

New Brunswick, New Jersey

Technical Report 1

August, 1969

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Abstract

Founded on a systems model of political processes and a review of studies relating values to political controls, 90 value items were administered to "mainstream" and "eddy" (dissenting) groups, including moderate and radical students, Rotarians, members of the New Democratic Coalition, Navy enlisted men, and Navy brig prisoners for the purpose of (a) devising an instrument for measuring politically relevant values and (b) exploring the values dynamics underlying dissent. Ten factored scales were identified, some of which discriminated among the separate samples. All samples concurred on values basic to democratic processes but differed in their perceptions of the implementation of those ideals, and their own political influence. Data analysis revealed several ways in which the instrument may be improved, yet the scores obtained conformed well with known features of the samples. (U)

"Foreign observers have found the American experience puzzling. Gunnar Myrdal described it as a dilemma. The nation was the birthplace of modern democracy; and yet it institutionalized racism. Equality and freedom were born on the same soil as slavery and white supremacy. Frontier democracy was itself partly shaped in wars against the Indian and the Mexican: only through collective agreement and political equality could the settlers protect the lands that they had taken. Each white man was entitled to one vote -- and a rifle."

THE CENTER MAGAZINE

March 1969 (page 43)

Technical Report 1

Values and Public Dissent:

I - Preliminary Measures

Part I

Lloyd Free and Hadley Cantril (1968) report an Oregon salesman who said that "something ought to be done for the poor, for the elderly, and for people on relief." Yet a few moments later when questioned about his worries and fears for the country, replied, "that the government will keep spending over their income. If this doesn't end, we'll be taxed to death." Inconsistency between what is held to be desirable and the operations of the governmental system, Free and Cantril argue, is rampant within the American population and provides unstable support for social welfare programs and policies marking the history of the United States since the early thirties.

The current study was mounted not so much to reexamine the Free and Cantril proposition but to develop a means for measuring values having potential relevance to governmental and other organizational controls (although some apparent inconsistencies were uncovered). To what extent are such values shared or different among quite different sectors of the population? Are the differences (if any) in espoused values consistent with other information characterizing the

sub-sections of American culture? If so, what new insights might surface in an analysis of the value patterns associated with such sub-cultures? These were the research aims.

Yet beyond these scientific targets, what socially relevant information might be forthcoming? For example, what sub-cultures are we talking about, and might this effort provide a clearer understanding of the basis for current conflicts within the American scene? For example, the college student rebellion against university policies, the draft, the Vietnamese war, and many of the traditional tenets of American society have been of major concern from White House to Black Ghetto. By no means are students united. Elements on the campuses holding differing views and presumably different value patterns might shed light on the causes but not the cures for campus dissent. Within the Navy one may also find dissenters and protesters serving sentences in the Brig and although, like many students, their individual motivations may vary, their actions have brought them in conflict with official standards of conduct. Even within the non-criminal adult civilian population, gradations of protest can be identified from members of the John Birch Society to supporters of the Anti-Defamation League and the Civil Liberties Union. Right, left, and middle sub-cultures within the American scene are not difficult to identify -- although administrative complications in measuring their

values may be more complex than when working with students and Navy personnel. If student, Navy and adult civilian samples could be surveyed, it was hoped that a picture of the cross currents within the American spectrum would emerge at a very fundamental level.

What is a Value?

Rokeach (1968) defined values essentially as those abstract ideals about how one ought or should behave, think or feel irrespective of a particular situation. For purposes of developing an instrument the first part of the above definition was accepted as a guide. That is, the format of the instrument demanded for reasons to be explicated later, that sentences be employed rather than "situation-less", bare words, such as loyalty, honesty, freedom, equality, kindness, etc. Consequently, the operational definition of value as employed herein is a statement or set of statements which emphasizes a condition or relationship which ought (or ought not) exist, with regard to the way conditions are perceived by the respondent at the moment. It will become evident later that the method of data analysis made it possible to abstract a value label for sets of statements pertaining to different situations and thus satisfy the Rokeach definition in its entirety. In other words, the instrument started with a "contaminated" operational definition of value but provided a means for obtaining "sanitized" value measures.

Why Concentrate on Values?

For purposes of this study, the Rokeach (op. cit. Chap. 1) hierarchy of beliefs provided a base. "First, not all beliefs are equally important to the individual; beliefs vary along a central peripheral dimension. Second, the more central a belief, the more it will resist change. Third, the more the central belief changed, the more widespread the repercussions in the rest of the belief system." (p. 3) Rokeach proceeded to classify five kinds of beliefs starting with primitive beliefs (100% consensus), such as "I believe this is a table; this is a book." (A Type) Such beliefs are characterized by perceptual constancies of objects, persons or self. Other primitive beliefs (Type B) have zero consensus -- delusions, hallucinations, fixed ideas -- such as "I am stupid no matter what others may say." These beliefs, insulated and protected from contrary evidence, are less central than Type A beliefs.

Authority beliefs, Type C, are those "taught" by reference persons or groups having something less than 100 per cent consensus. Authorities espouse beliefs about free enterprise, the friendliness of people, standards of conduct, morality and ethics, which the individual adopts as his own. This is not to say that one reference person or group provides the total range of authoritatively rooted beliefs for an individual. To some extent reference groups differ in the

beliefs they embody thus making it possible for an individual guided by more than one reference or source to hold authoritative beliefs that are controvertible. For this reason Type C beliefs are less central, more easily changed, and more varied within a population than Types A and B.

The distinction Rokeach draws between Types C and D is not as clear as between others. D beliefs are derived second-hand rather than from direct contact with authority figures or reference groups. For purposes of this investigation the beliefs emphasized are both C and D Types, carrying the stamp of some authority, some trusted reference group shared by a number of persons, but controvertible and differing across segments of the population. These are values, ideologies, standards having support in the social system.

Finally, to complete the Rokeach hierarchy, he posits inconsequential beliefs (Type E). These are matters of taste and preference which may or may not be tenaciously held: The Yankees are the best ball team, or University A is better than B; yet they have few connections with other beliefs, and if changed, result in no long chain-reaction affecting other beliefs.

This framework defining values places them roughly at a middle level of centrality, yet at the most central level where differences may be expected across various

organizationally defined segments of the population. Yet we have not fully answered the question posed. Why values? Rokeach's formulation asserts that C and D Type beliefs are associated with reference groups. Therefore members of groups having contrasting goals or differing views on current issues should also show belief patterns differing in significant ways. Moreover, these beliefs (values) are assumed to be the psychological core on which disagreements over public issues rest. If it becomes possible to identify these value differences the dialogue over issues may be moved to a more fundamental and perhaps more fruitful level of discourse. This latter stage is of course beyond the scope of the current project.

Values Relevant to Organizational Control

At the outset it was also necessary to settle upon a theory relating values to the nature of organizational controls. This study accepted with slight modification Easton's (1965) analysis of political systems and its operations as at least a convenient framework. In brief, Easton sees the political system (which is but one example of other social systems -- business enterprises, churches, universities) as accepting certain interests from its environment which pass through a boundary and thereby are transformed into demands. Demands are then combined,

modified, accepted, or rejected by the political processes carried out by the system's role incumbents who produce, as outputs, the laws, regulations, and administrative policies of the polity. In addition, the political system requires at least a modicum of support from the society in which it is embedded, such support flowing from the output as well as from the way in which the processing of demands is carried on by the system (e.g., the 1954 Senator J. McCarthy subversive activities hearings). The basic, relatively enduring, personal values held by the political model role incumbents influence the processing of demands, the rules of procedure, and the final output. Furthermore, the extent to which the processing mechanisms and the outputs express those values held by the society's influential opinion leaders, to that extent will the political system engender societal support. A number of quotes from Easton are relevant:

> "The ideological symbols that express political values show vast differences and reflect greatly divergent ways of life among systems at any one moment of time or historically considered. Freedom as against slavery or coercion, social equality as compared to fixed status, individual political responsibility in contrast with acceptance of the wisdom of political authority, maximization of popular participation in place of rule by a restricted elite, racial superiority rather than equality signalize deep value cleavages among political systems. Underlying principles such as divine right, popular consent, the

> will of the Volk, the general will, social contract, or dictatorship of the proletariat express conflicing promises to guide action in varying political systems." (pp. 194-195)
>
> ". . . in any system, there are certain dominant political values that give tone and direction for political practices, norms, and structural arrangements." (p. 198)
>
> ". . . insofar as the politically effective members of a system lend their support to the expression and elaboration of such values and they are not openly rejected by other members in the system, they will form limits within which the day-to-day policies will be expected to confine themselves." (p. 198)

Smith's (1968) recent schematic analysis of personality as it impinges on political behavior, includes a values component as one of the proximal variables. We do not take the position that values are the most important variables -- only that they are one class of important variables.

Given this theoretical systems framework, it was still necessary to decide what specific values ought to be included in the initial exploration. The selection criteria took into account the possibility that an appropriately designed instrument might eventually emphasize distinctive features of various dissident samples in the United States. Consequently, we were interested in selecting those values which might characterize most or all segments of

American life and yet at the same time we wished to discover those values discriminating sub-cultures in the U. S. Moreover, one sees his own distinctive culture when contrasted with another. For this reason we searched the literature for evidence of value differences between nations and those which might generally characterize the U. S. population.

The landmark studies of authoritarian (Adorno, et. al., 1950) have provided a starting point for many subsequent studies testing the extent to which this personality characteristic is related to political affiliation, voting behavior, styles of leadership, or attitudes toward foreign policies, both in this country and abroad. (Leventhal, Jacobs, and Kudirka, 1964; Singh and Arya, 1965; Levinson, 1957; Eysenck, 1954; Pareek and Chattopadhyay, 1965). Aside from these and other studies indicating the relevance of authoritarianism to a preference for different forms of social control, the underlying theory on which the California studies was based required that this dimension be included.

A research program stemming directly from the Authoritarian Personality on dogmatism has been equally impressive in showing cross-national as well as intra-national differences (Rokeach, M., 1960, 1968). These studies had indicated among other things a dogmatism on the right, middle and left of the political spectrum, and

some investigations have compared dogmatism cross-nationally. Clearly such measures ought to be included.

Although both authoritarian and dogmatism measures have been conceived as personality dimensions, an inspection of the items themselves shows that they conform with the definition of a value in that they present an ideal of standard of conduct and furthermore fit with the Rokeach hierarchy of beliefs at the C and D levels indicated earlier.

Turning to those values generally pervading the American scene, Gruen's (1966) measures of the American core culture seemed to hold promise. These included sub measures of upward mobility, impulse restriction, conformity, and the like. Although showing differences among socioeconomic classes within the United States this instrument looked as if the variances might be smaller within the American culture than across national samples. Even a pluralistic society permitting differences in opinions to circulate freely, nevertheless requires on theoretical grounds some anchoring set of common values beyond freedom of speech. Gruen's items seemed appropriate.

A value which might differ across nations and also be associated with organizational processes pertains to compromise and bargaining. A correspondent from India (Grossmith, J., 1969) for instance writes: "I feel that reconciliation may be rather christocentric phenomena. In

terms of interpersonal quarrels and disputes it seems to be alien to Hindu society. First of all, Hindus do not have the habit or skill of talking their way round to a reconciliation. Disputes consist of a shouting competition. Neither side hears anything the other side says." Erikson among others (1950) held that a distinctive feature of Americans is a manifestation of the principle that each individual develops "claims for future privilege on the basis of one's past concessions." American families, he believed, are more equalitarian than their European (and perhaps other regional) counterparts, where the cleavage between adult and child, senior and junior is more marked. Thus the family becomes the training scene on the one hand for patterns of compromise, or on the other, of intolerance for different interests. In addition to Gruen's core culture items, it seemed wise to include some which measure compromise as a valued process.

Almond and Verba (1963) provided a number of leads suggesting values probably associated with organizational control differences: the extent to which the social world could be trusted or was perceived as full of threat and danger; the degree to which people thought they could influence control processes or, in Lerner's terms (1958) were "personally impotent"; the value placed on choice of leisure time activities and affiliation were all found

associated with varying degrees of distributed, as opposed to centralized, political controls. Not all of these features can be readily translated into values or standards of conduct. Some were obviously perceptions of self (Rokeach's primitive Type B beliefs); others were beliefs about social and interpersonal relationships as they are, not as they should be. Even though the inclusion of such items might be a departure from concentration on values it was decided to write statements aimed at these characteristics because the Almond and Verba data (based on extensive interviews) were persuasive.

For reasons that are now difficult to reconstruct it was decided to include items pertaining to time orientation. Perhaps an early exposure to Florence Kluckholn's (Kluckholn and Strodtbeck, 1961) formulation had persisted, which includes time as a value. It appeared plausible that tight organizational controls beyond the influence of the ordinary individual might be associated with an emphasis on immediate rather than future satisfactions. If the future is in the hands of leaders over whom the led can exert little influence, the functionally adaptive response is to take a short time perspective, value the here and now over delayed gratification in a future, planning for which may only be a fanciful exercise. Contrariwise, given followers whose time perspective is short, authoritative strict con-

trols may be more acceptable. Several other sources were also searched. Robinson, Rusk and Held (1968) provided a collection of scales previously employed by other investigators mostly confined to the United States. Descriptions of several foreign polities were consulted (Pye, L.W., 1962; Siffin, W.J., 1966; Hong, S.C., 1967; Holtzman, W.H., Santos, J.F., Bouguet, S., and Barth, P., 1966; Bello, W.F., and Roldan, M.C., 1967).

The program of International Studies of Values in Politics under the leadership of Dr. Philip Jacob (1966) likewise provided models for specific items already tested in Poland, India and Yugoslavia that pertained to the obligations and expectations of political leaders. It is difficult to trace particular items to particular sources among this collection. Perhaps they only provided some confidence that we were touching values on which respondents in these countries might differ from Americans.

In several developing countries corruption in politics as defined by Americans is at least countenanced if not actually approved. 'Why run for public office if holding it does not give one a 'fair advantage?'" is a view openly held in sectors of Southeast Asia. Venality is not necessarily frowned upon -- only its excesses. The borderline between acceptable and excessive corruption is often unclear to American eyes. Recognizing that conflicts of

interest (e.g. MacNamara vs. Ford Motor Co.) may be a distinctive feature of American political values, such items seemed appropriate even though they might be generally rejected by American respondents.

This was the rationale, then, for including the items appearing in Appendix A.

A Theory Gap

No universal set of values has been agreed upon, and no conceptual guides are available to select a priori from the non-existent universal set those having necessary relevance to any sort of organizational arrangement. The empirical comparisons of Almond and Verba across five national groups provided some guidance as did the earlier studies of authoritarianism and dogmatism. The process of selecting values to be tested for relevance to the governance of any group or society at this stage must be based on available experience, largely but not completely atheoretical. Perhaps in the future we may look toward a sort of job-analysis model built on the systems framework which will specify at various points what values must be held by the role encumbents for the system to operate adaptively. An approach to this end can be found in certain speculations about the personality characteristics especially required by primitive and advanced societies. Thus Fromm (1941)

proposed that orderliness, punctuality, and discipline are essentials for an industrial society. Erikson (1945) contended that the Sioux society required "a combination of undiminished self-confidence, trust in the availability of food supply, and ready anger in the face of the enemy interference." (p. 327) These were two attempts at <u>personality</u> specifications rather than values although that distinction is less important than the current difficulty of specifying the total population of values from which any set might be drawn for particular investigation.

A companion problem also exists to which no one has given serious attention. If one settles upon a value -- say authoritarianism, about which a great number of items can be and have been written -- no sampling theory exists which permits one to be sure that the selected items adequately represent the domain encompassed by the concept. The common practice is to follow the leader (an authoritarian practice!) by re-using the items originally proposed as the operational definition, without questioning the representativeness of those items for the construct. In some instances statistically consistent items having very tenuous conceptual relevance to the construct have become standard parts of a scale. This is particularly vexing when one strikes out into previously unexplored values using conventional item formats. In the absence of concept

sampling theory comparable to respondent sampling, the measure originator merely guesses what kind of statements is appropriate. We guessed when necessary.

Respondent Samples

The principal objective at this early stage of development was to test the inventory of items rather than to obtain definitive information about segments of the American population, although the two objectives were not incompatible. We wanted to discover how the items we had guessed at correlated among themselves and with those previously developed by the sources already referenced. Additionally it was necessary to discover what items or scales discriminated between markedly different respondent cohorts. Differences in value pattern among the cohorts furthermore ought to be consistent with what was generally known about their political leanings or views and also about their attitudes on one or more salient public issues.*

Because we were primarily interested at this stage in instrument development, the samples employed were not selected to be representative of any larger population. Consequently no conclusions can be generalized to the larger

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* The first administration of the items occurred fortuitously at the University of Hawaii in the spring of 1968. Twenty-five students participating in a sit-in of the University's administration building were recruited "on the spot" and compared with 85 volunteer elementary psychology students. The data were factor analyzed and have been described by Meredith (1969). Later in this report we shall make reference to these "pre-pilot" findings.

sub culture from which they were drawn. When in the later portions of this report reference is made to radical students, Rotarians, Democrats, or Navy brig prisoners, we do not imply the descriptions apply to these sectors in general -- only to the respondents themselves. Table 1 presents the age, education, and numbers in each of the respondent samples.

Table 1

		Age		Education*	
	N	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	$\bar{X}$	S.D.
Adult evening college students - Liberal Arts	49	29.8	7.9	13.5	1.24
Radical students	58	19.6	1.2	a	
Moderate students	60	19.8	1.7	a	
Rotarians	27	47.8	12.8	16.3	1.1
Democrats	76	32.1	11.9	15.4	2.1
Navy enlisted men	75	21.4	1.9	12.5	1.1
Navy Brig prisoners	78	21.0	1.9	11.4	1.6

* Years of formal schooling
a Data not recorded but all were undergraduates

A further word describing the samples is in order. Adult evening college students were enrolled in elementary and advanced psychology courses. By and large they were people who had earlier interrupted their formal education for family or job reasons and were returning on a part-time schedule to complete degree requirements. A few held super-

visory positions but most were clerks, secretaries, junior technicians, or housewives.

The radical and moderate students were drawn from a total of 118 undergraduates at Rutgers University (7), Colgate University (61), Swarthmore College (26), and Manhattanville College (30). Six incomplete forms were rejected. Among the supplementary questions attached to the Rutgers Opinionaire (values instrument) was a list of nine common campus organizations including S.D.S., SANE, Inter-fraternity Council, Conservative Club, Young Americans for Freedom, etc. which covered the "right-left" spectrum. Respondents were asked to indicate two whose policies and programs they approved of, and two with which they disapproved. It was also possible for a respondent to indicate no opinion on either or both sides. From the total set of respondents it was possible to select 58 who approved of radical organizations (S.D.S., Students for Afro-American Society) and simultaneously <u>disapproved</u> of the conservative or moderate organizations. Twenty-seven conservative students had a reverse pattern of approval-disapproval. In the interest of using all respondent data, these conservatives and all non-radicals were grouped under the label of Moderate students. Efforts were also made to gain further indications of involvement by indications of attendance and office-holding but these data proved too

skimpy to be of use. A sidelight from this effort suggested that the moderate students tended to be less involved in the organizations of which they approved than the radical students. Nevertheless the selection procedure provided two groups of about the same size, age and presumably of similar education.

The Rotarian sample is a 54 per cent mail return of questionnaires distributed at a regular club luncheon. The senior author was invited to make a speech on another subject prior to which he briefly described the research project and asked for volunteers. Most had voted for Nixon in the November 1968 election, one for Wallace, and four for Humphrey. We have no way of determining how representative the respondents were of the total club.

The Democrats were solicited at a state organizing convention of the New Democratic Coalition held in New Brunswick, New Jersey late in March 1969. A table was set up near the entrance of the meeting hall urging participants to accept and mail back the completed questionnaires. About 500 persons attended the meeting but the supply of 110 questionnaires was quickly exhausted before the meeting began. All those who took the forms gave their names and addresses on a separate sheet. Follow-up reminders were mailed two weeks following the meeting, and a total of 84 were received of which 76 (70%) of those distributed were used for analysis. Again, we have no way of determining

the representativeness of the sample, but for our purposes this is relatively unimportant. We know they were active participants in the Coalition, expressing by their attendance some degree of commitment to a reformulation of the Democratic Party policies following the November 1968 elections.

Navy enlisted men consisted of two sub groups at the Philadelphia Naval Station. The first were men in transit between Boot Camp and their first fleet assignments. The second were men shortly to be discharged. Navy prisoners were surveyed at the Philadelphia and Norfolk Navy brigs. Brig advisors selected those whose offenses and records showed them to be protesters against Navy regulations. Unauthorized leave was the predominant offense although one or two were awaiting court martial on charge of desertion.* According to the Navy Times (April 30, 1969), the average Navy prisoner is 20 years old, and has not finished high school. In these respects our sample is very similar to the average of the brig population. Moreover about 85% are confined for some sort of unauthorized leave. In spite of some possible contamination from the inclusion of prisoner

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* In any replication of this study or further extension of it, investigators should review each prisoner's folder with the help of cognizant Navy personnel to ensure close compliance with the needs of the research.

respondents whose offenses were not of a protest sort, the fact of their serving sentences sets them apart from the regular enlisted men.

Factor Analysis of Results

Each item was scored on a six point scale from Strongly Agree (1) to Strongly Disagree (6). An orthogonal factor analysis was performed on the total respondent sample of 423.* Because the computer program could accept only 80 variables it was necessary on the basis of prior tabulation of item distribution scores to eliminate 10 items having the smallest variances from the factor analysis. An inspection of the factor matrix revealed that factors beyond the first ten appeared very tenuous, accounting for a small percentage of the variance. Moreover the items loading on the ninth factor failed to have any conceptual unity that could be interpreted by the investigators. It was reluctantly eliminated as were those beyond ten.

The labeling of factors is an art and a convenience for easy reference. The meaning of any factor is conveyed through a careful reading of the items giving consideration to the factor weights, and their signs. When factor ten items were inspected it appeared that two concepts were included; one which was clearly a measure of

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* Bi Med Program 03M, principal component solution and orthogonal rotation of the factor matrix.

authoritarianism (strong weights on "classical" F scale items), and one with somewhat weaker weights suggested by Gruen's American Core Culture scales emphasizing upward mobility, economic advance, and endorsement of achievement values. For purposes of explication in psychological terms it seemed wise to separate these items into two scales, recognizing that in the United States, but not necessarily elsewhere, these would be highly correlated. We preferred to look upon the factor analysis as a powerful guide not to be followed blindly, in assigning items to scales. Moreover some items eliminated solely because of machine limitations (see Page 21), had conceptual relevance to some scales and were therefore assigned where they seemed to fit best in an effort to augment the potential reliability of those scales. (Three on Factor I; two on Factor III; one each on Factors VI, VII, and VIII) Eight items having weak or no weights were eliminated entirely for both statistical and conceptual reasons.

It was a source of some satisfaction to discover that the factor structure conformed well, although not perfectly, with the hypothesized values relevant to organizational control developed during the preliminary survey of earlier studies. We evidently guessed well in selecting and writing items and furthermore, the value constructs for the most part were relatively independent.

The following steps in the analysis do <u>not</u> represent a cross-validation but instead were merely an effort to determine whether the sub-samples of the respondent pool revealed factor score differences which in any way made sense in the context of the features known to distinguish them.

Mean scale scores for each of the samples listed in Table 1 were computed taking care to reverse the originally assigned numerical values (subtracting from 7) on those items having negative weights. These mean scale scores are presented in Figures I to X.

A one-way analysis of variance was performed on the scale scores across samples. F ratios are presented with each Figure. In addition, Table 4 presents those differences between sample mean scores in each scale with probabilities of .05 or less, as estimated by the Scheffé test (1953).

An estimate of scale reliability was obtained by re-submitting the questionnaire to one of the adult part-time evening college classes with an inter-test interval of two months. Both item and scale score reliabilities were computed subsequent to assigning items to scales.* Scale reliabilities are displayed in Table 2.

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* Scale reliabilities might have been improved had item reliabilities been available prior to the assignment of items to scales.

Table 2

Re-Test

Factor Score Reliabilities (N = 24)

Factor		Correlation
I	Democratic Leadership	.526
II	Censorship	.915
III	Cynical Distrust	.656
IV	Weak Self Regard	.593
V	Autocratic Leadership	.512
VI	Rejection of Compromise	.455
VII	Present vs. Future	.469
VIII	Personal Kindness	.620
X_F	Authoritarianism	.847
X_M	Upward Mobility	.696

With the exception of Factors II and X_F all reliabilities were disappointingly low. Reliabilities on the F scale have also been generally higher than indicated above*, which suggests that this particular respondent set is somehow unique and not providing as fair an estimate of reliability as might be obtained with either a larger N or a shorter interval between applications. These data nevertheless raise a cautionary signal with respect to all subsequent interpretations of the findings. A reconsideration of the assignment of items to scales, taking into account item reliabilities, would seem to be in order as part of any later analysis.

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* Adorno, et. al., 1950, p. 288.

Use Author's abstract

Descriptors:

~~Data Analysis~~ Data Analysis X

* Democratic Values X

* Item Analysis X

~~* Measurement Instruments~~

Models X

Political Affiliation X

* Political Attitudes X

Political Issues X

~~* Systems Analysis~~

Systems Approach X

* Values

~~Subjects~~

~~* Subject Bias~~

~~Respondents~~

* Dissent

X Factor Analysis

~~* [illegible]~~

X* Activism

X Social Activism

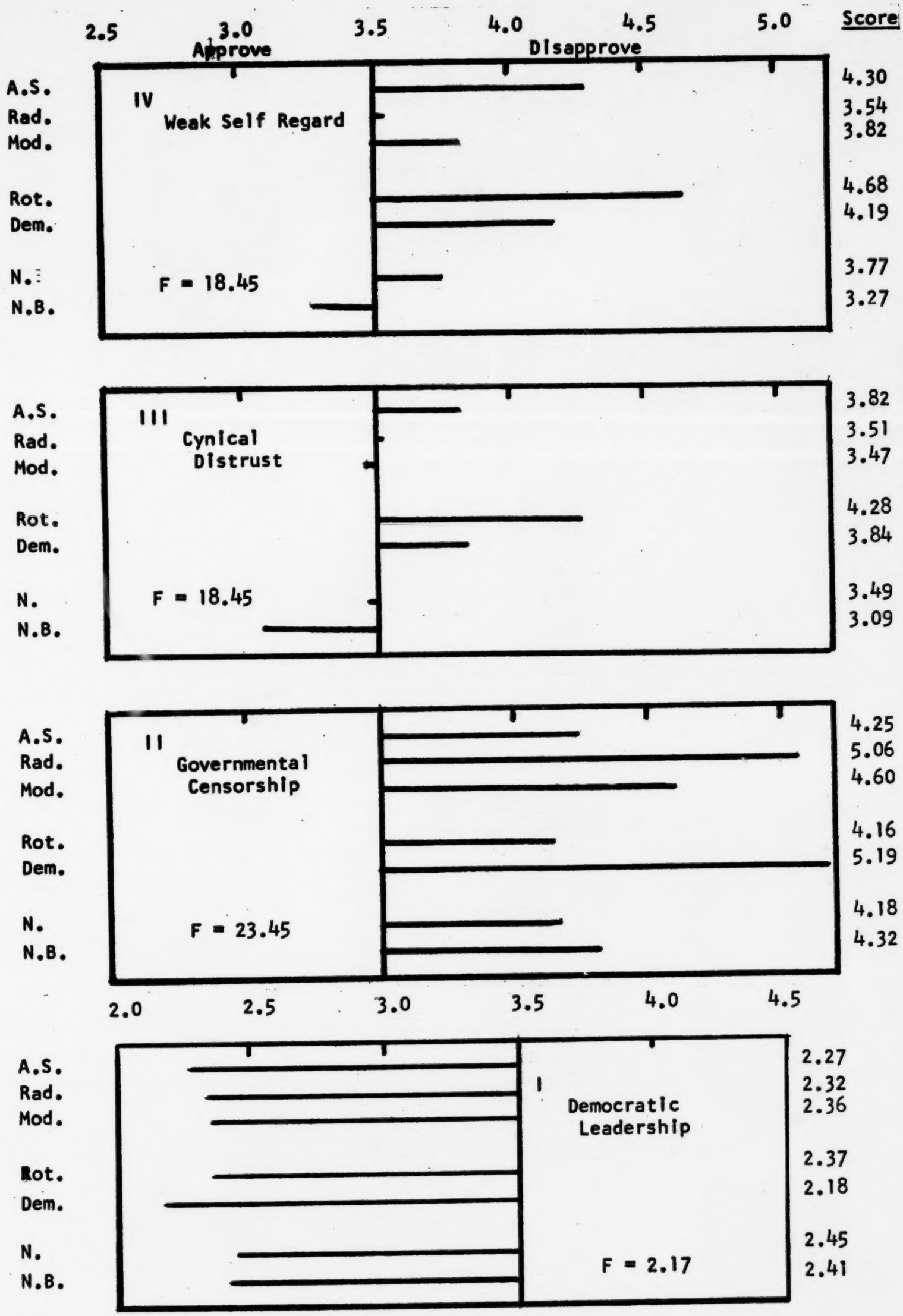
X ~~* Rating Scales~~

X Questionnaires

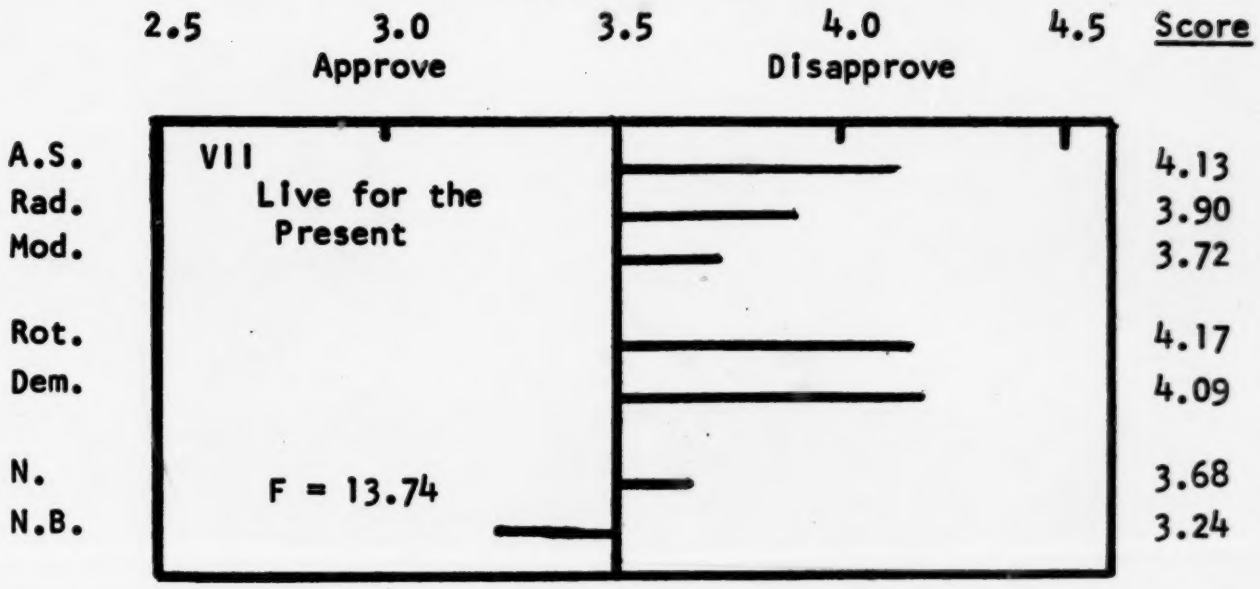
X Authoritarianism

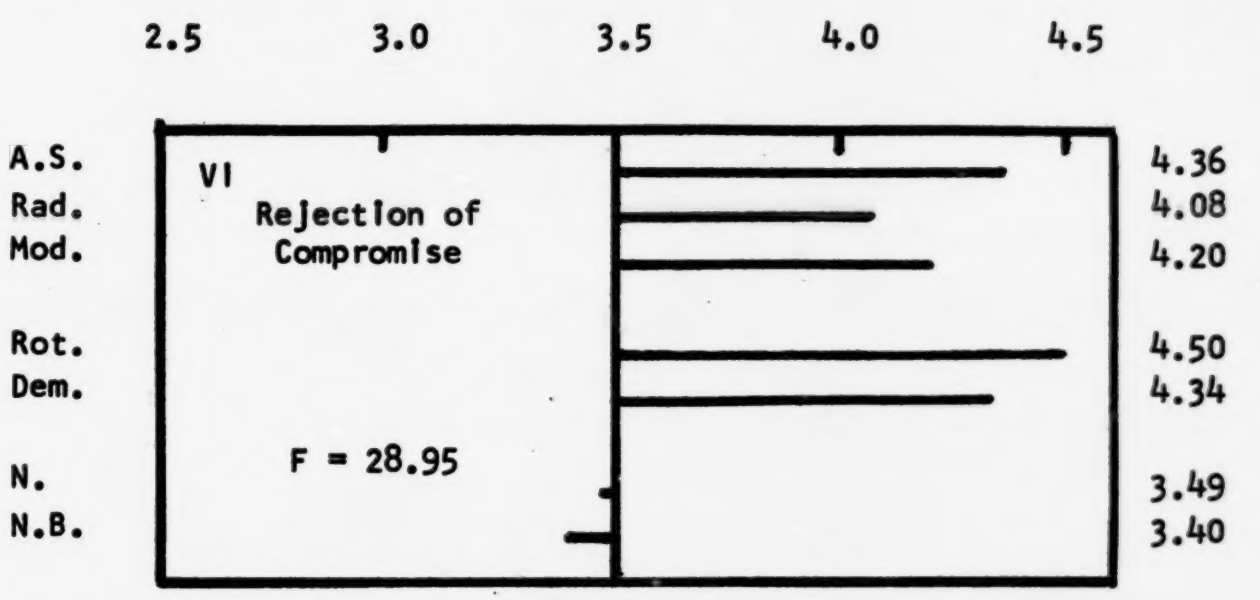
X Censorship

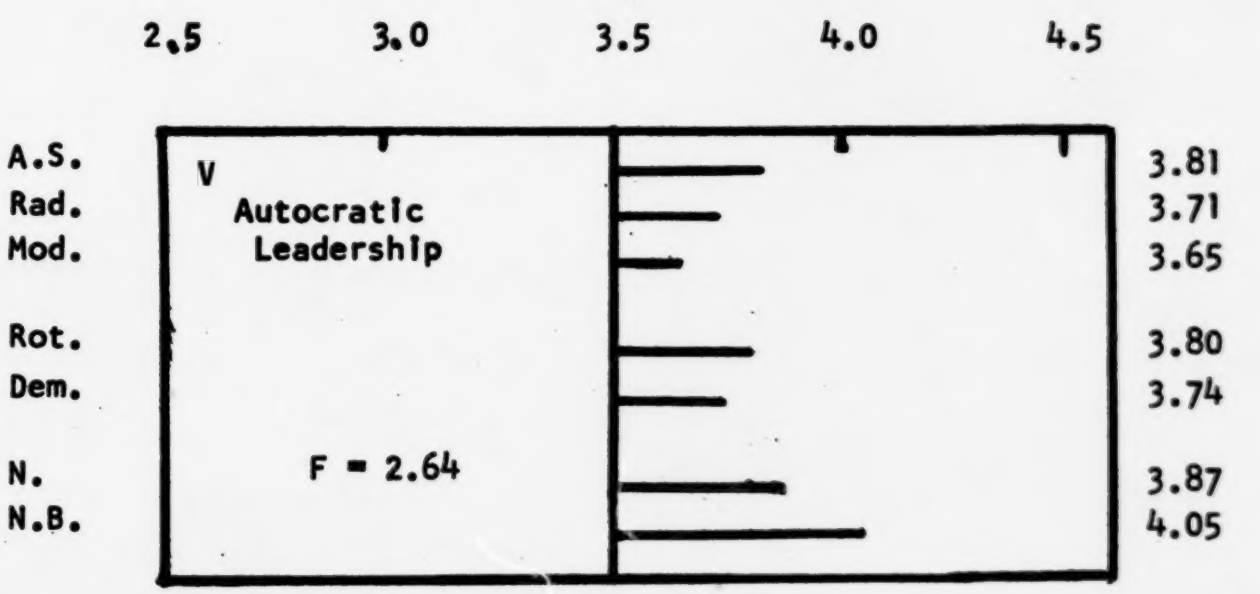
Figures I - IV


2.5
3.0
Approve
3.5
4.0
4.5
Disapprove
5.0
Score
A.S.
Rad.
Mod.
Rot.
Dem.
N.
N.B.
IV
Weak Self Regard
F = 18.45
4.30
3.54
3.82
4.68
4.19
3.77
3.27
III
Cynical
Distrust
F = 18.45
3.82
3.51
3.47
4.28
3.84
3.49
3.09
II
Governmental
Censorship
F = 23.45
4.25
5.06
4.60
4.16
5.19
4.18
4.32
2.0
2.5
3.0
3.5
4.0
4.5
I
Democratic
Leadership
F = 2.17
2.27
2.32
2.36
2.37
2.18
2.45
2.41

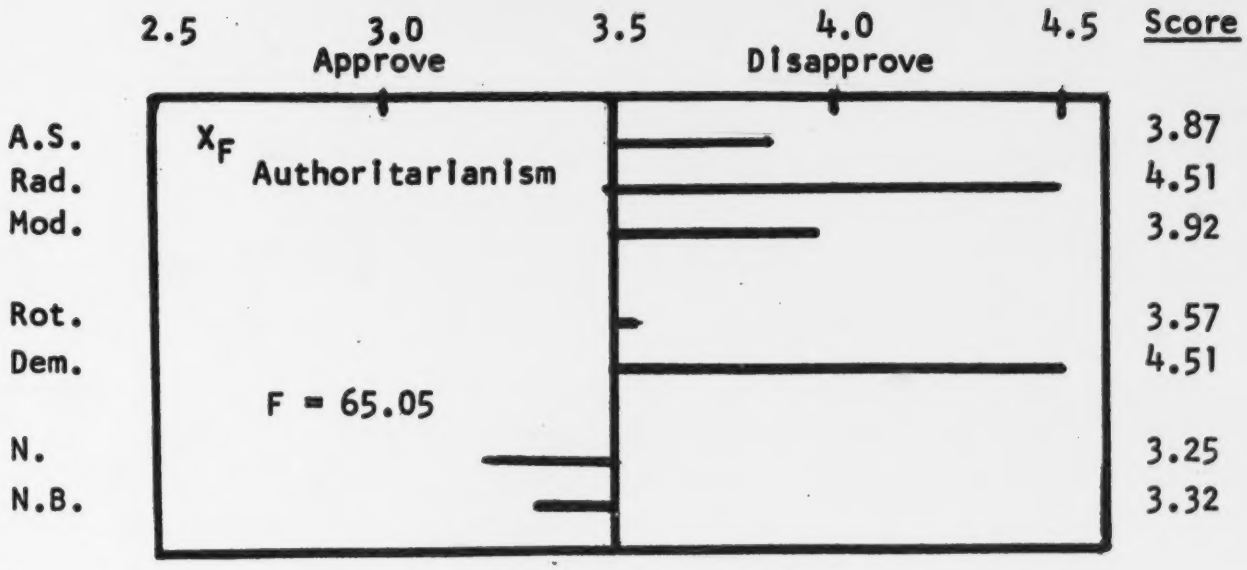
Figures V - VII

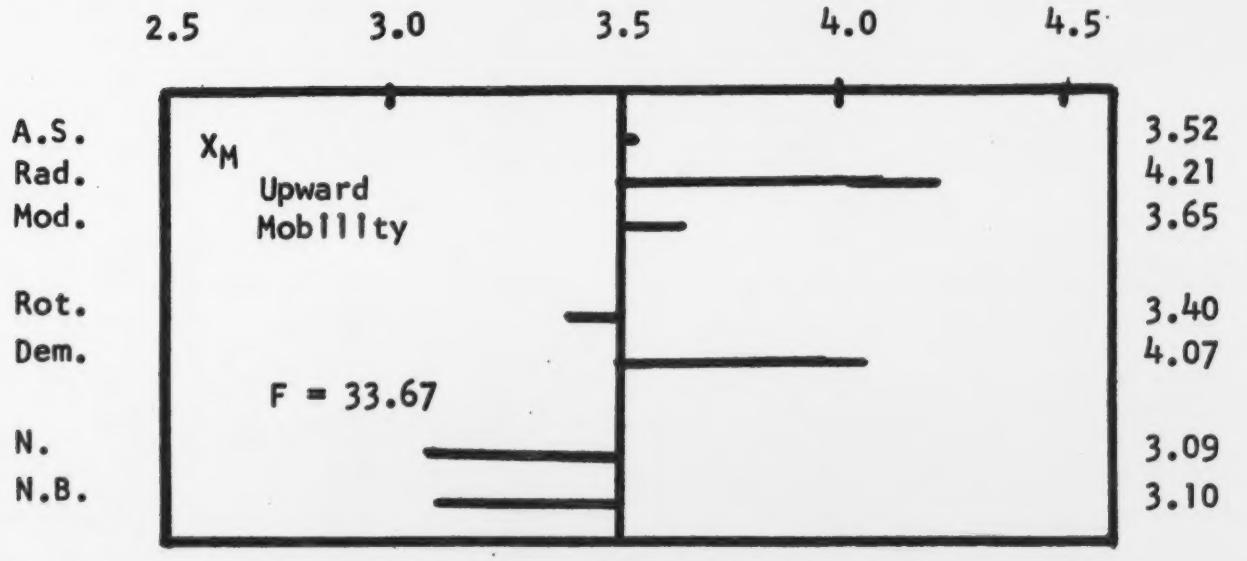


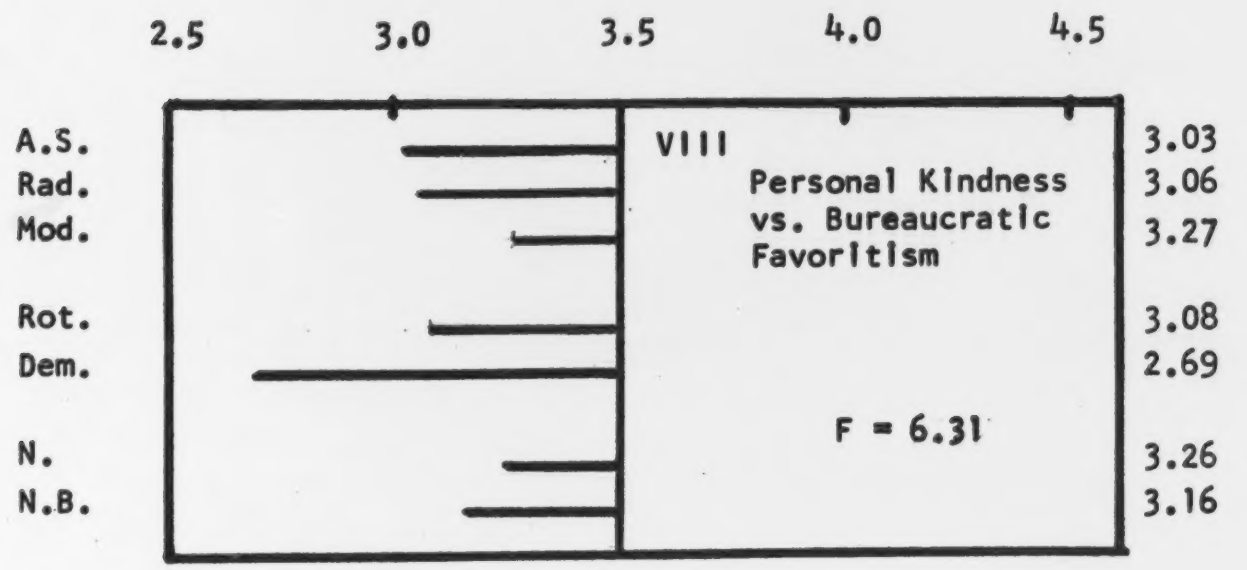




Figures VIII - X_F







Intercorrelations of scale scores are presented in Table 3.

Table 3

Intercorrelations of Scale Scores

(N = 423)

	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	X_F	X_M
I	.262	.009	.033	.075	.020	.000	.178	-.080	-.080
II		.007	.003	.081	.126	.026	.116	.532	.429
III			.543	.067	.461	.417	-.331	.241	.141
IV				.137	.460	.444	-.168	.167	.093
V					.122	.087	-.072	-.033	-.035
VI						.378	-.236	.409	.320
VII							.220	.236	.142
VIII								.211	.145
X_F									.662

As anticipated, scales X_F and X_M were highly correlated. Thirty-four out of 45 intercorrelations were acceptably low. The exceptions were II vs. X_F, X_M; III vs. IV, VI, VII, VIII; IV vs. VI, VII; VI vs. VII, X_F. Although these scores are more highly correlated than is psychometrically desirable, the conceptual relevance of one to the other is understandable. For instance, disapproval of censorship (II) appears consistent with low authoritarian values (X_F).

It is not inconceivable that cynical distrust of others (III) should be associated with weak self-regard (IV), a short time perspective (VII), or a low value on compromise (VI). No doubt more reliable scales would reduce these correlations but on the other hand an inspection of the higher than desirable associations do not present major interpretative problems to be elaborated later.

Regression Analysis of Results

The data booklet included a final page of "issue" questions which differed somewhat from sample to sample. From the Navy samples (N=153), the questions and mean scores were:

(a) Indicate the statement closest to your view:

1. I hope to make a career in the Navy.
2. I will reenlist for one more hitch.
3. The Navy is OK but not great.
5. The Navy stinks.

($\bar{X}$ = 3.9, S.D. 1.18)

(b) Consider your opinion about the Vietnam war:

1. We have a job to do and should do it.
2. We ought to slow down and gradually get out.
3. Don't have any strong opinion.
4. I'll go if ordered but I won't like it.
5. I'll go over the hill before they ship me to Vietnam.

($\bar{X}$ = 2.5, S.D. 1.48)

(c) What do you think of draft resisters?

1. The ought to be jailed.
2. Don't agree with them, but think they ought to be let alone.
3. No strong opinion about them.
4. Some are sincere, but not all of them.
5. They are doing a good thing to wake up the country.

($\bar{X}$ = 2.7, S.D. 1.58)

References to these attitude questions were weakly correlated (a vs. b, .330; a vs. c, .337; b vs. c, .466).

The only question of these duplicated on the civilian forms was the last, pertaining to draft resisters. Responses to each of these questions were treated separately as dependent variables and a linear stepwise regression analysis was performed on the value items as predictors (Bi Med 02R Program). Tables 5 to 8 present the results of this analysis, showing those items progressively contributing to the multiple R up to the point that R approaches an asymptote.

Inspection of the tables reveals no simple relationship between factor scales and attitudes on any of the issues in spite of the fact that the attitudes were weakly correlated. Furthermore, the items predicting attitude toward draft resisters by Navy respondents were with two exceptions not duplicated in the civilian samples. Item 66 is one exception and in content is a generalized statement of the specific attitude issue. Item 56 pertaining to censorship is the second. Aside from these the only thread connecting the tables was a tendency for authoritarian scale items, and to a lesser extent censorship items, to be over represented in all cases, but no particular items predominated. It appears therefore that attitudes toward these specific issues were not firmly based upon the factor scales.

Ex post facto, such findings may be interrupted within the Rokeach formulation. These dependent variables

Table 4

Significant differences ($P < .05$) between sub samples on Scale Scores as estimated by Scheffé's (1953) test*

		SCALES									
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	X_M	X_F
1.	A.S.	N	2,5	7	2,3,6,7	N	6,7	7		2,5,6,7	6,7
2.	Rad.		1,3,4, 6,7	4,5	1,4,5		6,7	7		3,4,6,7	1,3,4, 6,7
3.	Mod.	O	2,5	4,5	1,4,5	O	6,7	7	5	5,6,7	6,7
4.	Rot.	N	2,5	2,3,6,7	2,3,6,7	N	6,7	7		5	2,5
5.	Dem.		1,3,4, 6,7	2,3,6,7	2,3,6,7		6,7	7	3	6,7	1,3,4, 6,7
6.	N.	E	2,5	4,5	1,4,5	E	1,2,3, 4,5	7	5	1,2,3, 5	1,2,3, 5
7.	N.B.		2,5	4,5	1,4,5		1,2,3, 4,5	1,2, 3,4, 5,6	5	1,2,3, 5	1,2,3, 5

* Read Column 2, Row 1: Mean score on Scale II of adult students was significantly different from 7 (Navy Brig prisoners).

Table 5

Items predicting attitude toward Navy

Navy sub samples

N = 153

Item No.	Scale		R
65	II	Censorship protects	.260
43	VII	No safe way to live	.349
74	X_F	Too many laws	.403
63	III	People are honest	.439
83	II	Do not dictate reading	.463
11	X_F	Freedom too limited	.491
33	-	Resolving conflicts	.518
79	VII	Take care of self	.536
80	IV	Strangers look at me	.555
85	-	Leaders live beyond means	.568
84	X_F	Police power	.582
4	VIII	Help others	.596
67	VIII	Government officials give favors	.604
77	I	Lawmakers ought to compromise	.615

Table 6

Items predicting attitude toward Vietnam War

Navy Sample

N = 153

Item No.	Scale		R
66	X_F	Refuse to bear arms	.433
12	X_F	Accept laws	.498
2	II	Own distinction between good and bad	.550
28	X_M	Try hard	.582
62	VII	Do not vote	.616
75	II	Friends criticize government	.635
32	VI	Never give opponent a break	.654
70	-	Force needed	.676
23	VI	Compromise is not appeasement	.687
3	X_F	Obedience	.697

Table 7

Items predicting attitude toward draft resisters

Navy sub samples

N = 153

Item No.	Scale		R
66	X_F	Refuse to bear arms	.464
12	X_F	Accept laws	.532
75	II	Friends criticize government	.578
57	X_F	Prohibit meetings	.604
60	V	Friendly leaders fail	.626
56	II	Censorship is good	.644
23	VI	Compromise is not appeasement	.659
30	V	Knowledgeable people decide	.672

Table 8

Items predicting attitude toward draft resisters

Adult sub samples

N = 131

Item No.	Scale		R
66	X_F	Refuse to bear arms	.515
56	II	Censorship is good	.573
62	VII	No use voting	.599
79	VII	Take care of self	.616
26	VIII	Selfish happiness	.634
81	X_F	System makes failures	.648
40	III	Risk to help	.658
45	III	Politicians seek reelection	.671
60	V	Friendly leaders fail	.686
14	-	Concession leads to counter concession	.694

may be conceived as Type E beliefs having few or tenuous connections with other more central beliefs; they are matters of taste and preference. The fact that the civilian and Navy data were largely inconsistent on the same question argues for the hypothesis that the basis for the attitude is more a function of respondents than any fundamental values pattern.

If this interpretation is valid, the regression analysis has provided unexpected support for the Rokeach classification of beliefs. That is to say, these attitudes appear to be weakly associated with more central beliefs which the value items were designed to measure.

PART II

Interpretation of Results

Leadership Obligations and Censorship (Scales I, II, V)

It is considerably reassuring to those pessimistic about American democratic values that the two factos on which all groups scored about the same pertained to obligations and roles expected of public leaders. All groups -- mainstream and eddy, students and adults -- endorsed more strongly than any other factor those statements emphasizing the tenets of democratic governmental leadership: respect for the needs and wishes of the governed, concern for the public good, responsibility for informing the public in law making before issuing orders or directives. Contarlwise, all groups disapproved (less strongly than they endorsed the former statements) descriptions of autocratic public leadership (Scale V): ignoring the expressed wishes of voters, placing career advancement above family, failing to resolve factional differences.

Third, all groups opposed governmental censorship, but with some significant differences in the strength of their opposition. Statements suggesting that censorship protects those who lack good judgment were opposed, while other items indicating that people at large ought to be free to make their own choices between good and bad were approved.

As might be anticipated, the radical students and the dissident democrats were strongest in their opposition to censorship and were significantly more so than the adult students, Rotarians, and enlisted Navy men.

Taken as a whole, these three scales represent mainstream values to which all samples subscribed with a remarkable consensus about the obligations of public leaders to serve rather than merely control constituents. Opposition to governmental censorship found throughout all samples underlines the democratic principle of free speech, assembly, and discussion, although the more militant "eddy" groups resent infringement on such freedoms more than do the "mainstream." These values represent the basic bedrock of the American political system providing as it does for leaders responsive to the electorate and the electorate being free to express themselves, albeit at times in abrasive and strident terms.

This evidence, limited as it is, runs counter to Flacks' (1969) position and a widely held belief among young radical students to the effect that the U.S. polity must be reconstituted in order to re-establish its legitimacy. Flacks asserts that "the commitment of American national authority to the maintenance of a world empire..... necessitates forms of domination and social control which are anti-democratic and which reduce the trustworthiness of

of the authorities." (pp. 148-9) Such policies, Flacks contends, are incompatible with democratic principles. The question at stake (further discussion of the data may provide clarification of the answer) seems to be: "Do these policies require a restructuring of the American political system as idealized in social studies textbooks, or do they require a shift in the processes within that system?" The data so far suggest a widespread acceptance of the textbook version. Dissenters and conservatives were alike at this level. As Kelman (1969) argued in commenting on Flacks' statement, dissent appears to be directed at specifics, not at foundation values. The regression analysis presented in Tables 5 to 8 supports the hypothesis as does later interpretation of the scale data.

Kindness, Altruism (Scale VIII)

In a fourth area, all samples tended to agree that people ought to be less selfish, more kind and considerate to those less fortunate than themselves. Although this value is not directly related to the democratic ideal, and probably can be found in more coercive societies, it suggests that these respondents by and large leaned toward an equalitarian ethic, or perhaps more precisely, an altruistic ideal in their perston-to-

person relations. It is at least a sympathy for the disadvantaged underdog, currently underlying the tensions of our present domestic strife. On the other hand, respondents disapproved of the "kindness" exhibited by public officials who give special help or consideration to those who attempt to ingratiate themselves by gifts or favors. The kindness and consideration endorsed by the respondents is selfless, given freely without a sense of obligation in return for prior favors. Some differences in the strength of these endorsements occurred within the samples. Each of the eddy samples approved more strongly of kindness as a value than their mainstream counterparts, although the difference was most marked between the Rotarians and the dissident democrats. The Democratic Party has traditionally supported more strongly than the Republicans welfare and public assistance programs. Furthermore the democrats in this sample were supporters of the "dovish" foreign policies of their party, a quick settlement of the Vietnam war, and a major effort to reduce poverty. Although Rotarians (who in this sample voted overwhelmingly for Nixon in 1968) are a "service organization" they tend to reward and support programs more broadly aimed at community development rather than the more person-directed assistance. Thus the differences in the approval strength of personal kindness fell in line, ex post facto, with characteristics of these groups themselves.

The radical students also valued kindness more strongly than their counterparts -- a condition at first sight inconsistent with their tendency toward forceful confrontations and militancy. However, these actions are generally directed against institutional policies, not individuals. Evidently the radicalism these students endorsed is laced with some of the alleged values of the "flower people."* Although the radical students of 1969 may no longer be committed to the Port Huron statement and S.D.S. may have adopted tactics less rooted in "love, reflectiveness, reason and creativity", it is significant that they endorsed values consistent with that position.

Compromise as a Valued Means of Resolving Disputes (Scale VI)

All civilian samples generally approved of compromise as a means of settling conflicts of opinion or public issues in which positions differ. The Navy samples fell in the neutral area, neither approving nor disapproving of this value. Compromise is after all rarely permitted in

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* Tom Hayden, one of the founders of Students for a Democratic Society (S.D.S.), declared in the Port Huron Statement: "We would replace power rooted in possession, privilege, or circumstances by power and uniqueness rooted in love, reflectiveness, reason and creativity. As a social system we seek the establishment of a democracy of individual participation, governed by two central claims: that the individual share in those social decisions determining the quality and direction of his life; that society be organized to encourage independence in men and provide the media for their common participation." (As quoted by Brooks, T.R., Metamorphosis in S.D.S.: The New Left is Showing Its Age. New York Times Magazine, June 15, 1969, p. 14.)

a military organization, especially among the troops. The civilian-Navy difference in this respect was partly a function of age (r with age = .29, P<.01) rather than the mere separation of respondents into dissimilar social systems. That is, younger respondents tended slightly to value compromise less highly than older and more experienced people. It may be noted that the students, both radical and conservative, approved of compromise less strongly than the adult students, Rotarians and Democrats.

Although compromise as a political mechanism is generally supported, none of the factors clearly test the opposite; that is, the respondent's approval or disapproval of force and violence as a means of settling disputes. One item not included in the factor analysis however showed over all scores in the neutral area: "While the use of force is wrong by and large, it is sometimes the only way possible to advance a noble idea." (A.S., 3.67; Rad., 3.43; Mod., 3.33; Rot., 3.30; Dem., 3.96; N., 3.19; N.B., 3.45)*

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Against this background of general values undergirding the democratic processes on which heterogenous samples

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* This item states an assumption in the first clause that might or might not be acceptable to a respondent, while the second clause is the intended essence of the item. The ambiguity of the statement perhaps accounts for the middle range scores.

generally agree, or do not reject outright, it is now possible to project five other factors showing marked differences. Four of these largely reveal the way respondents see themselves interacting with the societal values. To some extent the following factors give a picture of how the various samples see themselves functioning within the values framework they all endorse.

Self Regard (Scale IV)

A sense of powerlessness, self-negation, being unable to influence government and feeling criticized was most evident in the Navy brig prisoners, and least evident among the Rotarians. Again, ex post facto, the finding makes intuitive sense. Being selected for Rotary is a mark of community influence and can be ego enhancing. Being sentenced to the brig is a clear exclusion from one's regular associates and is understandably ego deflating. In some instances unauthorized leave may have been a reaction to an inability to discharge their duties satisfactorily, also resulting in criticism and ego deflation. Although the brig prisoners had the lowest estimate of themselves, the radical students, another "eddy" group, were not far behind. It is significant that they have argued the usual channels of dissent are ineffective; that the power of dialogue is minimal. Although the sample of radical students here did

not include those who have written about their experiences in violent clashes or demonstrations, some who have done so have remarked on the exhilaration they felt in new found power replacing their former impotence that may be revealed in the current data.

In essence both the brig prisoners who have been denied some of their freedom and the radical students saw themselves as being unable to participate influentially in the democratic processes they valued. For them the professed principles that most respondents in this study generally endorsed did not work for them. On the other hand the adult part-time students, democrats and Rotarians tended to deny feelings of personal weakness. For them the system seemed to be working or at least their feelings of personal worth and power were consistent with the assumptions of a democratic society. They not only approved of the value system, they saw themselves as able to exert some influence within it. The age factor confounded these results; the younger students and both Navy samples had a weaker self-regard than did the older part-time students, Rotarians and democrats ($r = .34$, $P<.01$). However if we confine the comparisons to "eddy" and mainstream samples of about the same age, it was always the "eddy" groups (radical students, dissident democrats, Navy brig) who had the weaker self-regard than their mainstream counterparts. Dissent or protest may therefore in

these segments of the population grow out of the discrepancy between the prevailing values and one's sense of particlpation in those values.

These findings again run partly counter to the Flacks (1969) hypothesis where he says, "Persons with a low sense of competence (previously equated to levels of general self esteem) tend to view authority as untrustworthy, but also lack trust in their own ability to affect those in authority. They are consequently likely to be politically apathetic, fatalistically enduring what is imposed upon them....." (p. 139) Surely the radical students and the dissident democrats were anything but politically apathetic. However Flacks may be correct insofar as the wider population of persons with a low sense of competence, yet such self depreciation is not an insurmountable bar to political involvement.

Present vs. Future Orientation (Scale VII)

The Navy brig prisoners tended more than any others to believe in taking care of the present problems, letting the future take care of itself. At the opposite extreme were the adult students, Democrats and Rotarians who believed it wiser to plan for the future. Maturity, among other things, is characterized by a longer time perspective, delaying immediate gratification. The age difference accounts for 4% of the score variances ($r = .21$, $P < .05$). On the other hand the

institutional influence is not to be disregarded. Both Navy samples were less future oriented than any of the civilian samples, suggesting that in concert with their weak self-regard and being subject to authoritarian control to a greater extent than civilians, they were encouraged to view the future as beyond control: "Live it up now, tomorrow who knows?"

Time perspective is relevant to the political processes. As the need for quick decisions mounts, the opportunity for discussion, dialogue, and democratic participation fades. Authoritative controls, as the Navy data suggest, encourage, or ideally demand, that the led take little thought of the future, but instead, by accepting the authority of leaders, the led find their satisfactions in the present. Plans for the future are in the hands of the leaders, who brook no criticism. As followers become more future oriented, projecting and forecasting their own welfare, they are thus stimulated to voice their hopes sometimes critically of and at variance with the leaders' plans. These data and inferences are not presented in support of a cause and effect relation between values and the political process, but at least a long time perspective in the led is more consistent with participative decision making than with central control exclusively in the hands of a few.

Cynical Distrust (Scale III)

The degree to which others are trusted, inconvenience themselves to help others, are seen as leading honest, decent lives, is not so much a value as it is a perception of the social world. This set of items reveals not what ought to be (a value) but what respondents believe about people they know. Coupled with the value placed on personal kindness (Scale VIII), it is possible to discover to what extent the beliefs about interpersonal relations conform with expectations or the way they ought to be.

Among all samples the Navy prisoners were most distrustful and the Rotarians the least. The remaining samples were not significantly different among themselves and all fell within the neutral range. Age correlated .36 with these scores indicating a slight tendency for older people to be more trusting.

The salient point is that the Navy prisoners' expectations that people ought to be kind was not matched by the way other people appeared to be. For the prisoners, other people ought to be considerate and kind, but they do not go out of their way to help those in trouble. No other sample showed such a marked discrepancy. The Rotarians were least cynical, least distrustful of others and approved of personal kindness at about the same level as the Navy prisoners. If anything, the Rotarians were more trusting than they

thought people should be. On the same sort of comparison the democrats showed a discrepancy similar to the prisoners' with both a stronger approval of kindness but less trustful of others than the Rotarians.

If these findings are confirmed by other rigorous data, they suggest that dissent is in part stimulated by the failure to match one's perceptions of what is going on with what ought to be. In systems analysis terms, the feedback one gets from his view of the way people behave does not agree with the established boundary norms and standards of the system. When this mismatch occurs the perceivers do not attack the boundary but dissent within the system (democrats) or attempt to leave the system or a segment of it -- (unauthorized leave among the brig prisoners). The data on both self regard and distrust tend to support the Kelman thesis previously mentioned but in terms less specific than he formulated it. That is, dissent is not directed so much at the major professed values of the system, but instead at the real or perceived hypocrisies in the system.

Upward Mobility (Scale X_M)

Considerable discussion in the public press has centered on the lack of economic and social aspirations, especially among student dissenters. Radical students have been described as rejecting the economic upward press of the

affluent families from which they are alleged to come. The data from this study tend to support this notion. Radical students disagreed more than moderates with statements indicating a value on improving one's economic position or finding satisfaction in looking back later in life on a progression of econo-social advancements. The dissident democrats were very like the radical students, especially when compared with the Rotarians. The fact of such differences among adults may be surprising, but consistent with the traditional postures of the two major parties. That is, the Rotarians (Republicans) represent the visible persons in business and professional life. Democrats have generally appealed to the less affluent. Perhaps more surprising is the finding that both Navy samples valued upward mobility more strongly than any of the civilian samples.

A number of interpretations can be offered but none with great confidence. The rigidities of the military system may have generated some sense of frustration and thus stimulated an eagerness to participate more fully in the economic freedoms and affluence of civilian life. Perhaps the Navy status system, with its built-in social rewards and omnipresent evidences of advances in rank, has encouraged upward aspirations. We have no way of verifying either speculation, yet the absence of a difference within the two Navy samples suggests that this value is not a contributor to dissent in

these samples. On the other hand, it is associated with dissent in civilian samples.

Lethargic people in poverty are not likely to aspire to a higher station for themselves or their children if the political and other social systems hamper and discourage their stirrings. Under such circumstances the prospects of democratizing the system are dim. On the other side, unless the general population values improvement over accepting the status quo, displaying what some have called "divine discontents", those in control are not likely to be moved. The argument hinges on the terms in which improvement is defined. For the radical students and dissident democrats (although we have no evidence in this study), improvement may be seen in the quality of life rather than in the economy of consumption, especially because these samples were not notably impoverished economically. The civilian dissenters, unlike the Navy, were free to pursue economic ends and may have reached a level where such pursuits no longer held rewards as attractive as, for example, the reduction of censorship, or raising the level of trust and interpersonal kindness. Had this study included a sample of civilian respondents drawn from welfare rolls it would be possible to test the soundness of these interpretations. One is reminded of the Maslow hierarchy of need satisfactions which may be reflected in these data.

Authoritarianism (Scale X_F)

Although authoritarianism has been conceived in the past as a personality dimension, it is as easily conceptualized as a value. The items operationally defining this dimension in the landmark California studies and included in the present survey have a "should" and "ought" character. Additional items referring to governmental officials, and police, fell in this factor and thus clearly linked abstract authority with more concrete governmental roles.

Radical students and dissenting democrats rejected authority as a value more than other civilians and more than the Navy respondents. Between the Navy sets, the difference was insignificant, but both endorsed this value more than the adult and moderate students, who were themselves more authoritarian than the other civilians. Such findings are consonant with what might be expected. The question however may be raised: Were the Navy men selected because they accepted authority more than other civilians, or did the Navy experience inculcate a general respect for authority previously lacking? The fact that the Navy prisoners were not noticeably different from the other Navy men lends some weight to the latter interpretation, particularly in view of the fact that the prisoners violated one or more military regulations. It is abundantly clear that the prisoners did not reject

authority, directives and obedience in general as a value, although they had committed some offense against an authoritarian system.

Some of the values previously discussed could be attributed to an age difference. This appears not to be true of authoritarianism. The younger radical students were as equalitarian as the older democrats. The relation between authoritarian and democratic leadership scores raises a provocative question of interpretation. Table 3 indicates these scales were independent ($r = -.08$). In the past authoritarianism has been conceived as a general disposition to accept autocratic directives from above and to insist on obedience from below. The current data suggest such a disposition does not generally extend to people "in control of community affairs", "in power in this country", or "men who make laws." If however the democrats and radical students are examined, it appears their anti-authoritarianism (X_F) scores were as strong as their approval of democratic leadership (I). None of the other sub samples show the same degree of consistency on the two scales. This suggests that the "mainstream" and Navy samples accept the <u>process</u> of the political system in the development of regulations and resent less strongly the enforcement of those regulations once established. The civilian "eddies" on the other hand may be inclined to question an automatic

obedient response to "law and order" while endorsing as others do, the processes of law formulation. This speculation fits the data as well as many dissident proclamations and tactics of civil disobedience against laws or regulations conceived by the dissenters as unjust.

Whatever the valid interpretation may be, it becomes evident that conventional measures of authoritarianism must be scrutinized with care before generalizing to other values apparently similar.

Similarities Among Dissenting Democrats and Radical Students

One way of getting a birdseye view of these data is to examine the values in which the eddy groups are alike in contrast to their mainstream or more moderate counterparts. The democrats and the radical students rejected (a) censorship, (b) authoritarian values, and (c) the pursuit of economic advancement more than their moderate fellows. They also tended (d) to approve more strongly of personal kindness and helpfulness for the underprivileged.

The first three of these run to some extent against the traditional behavior of the "establishment" which, for example, until recent Supreme Court decisions upheld stricter censorship laws. Moreover, permissiveness (anti-authoritarianism), especially in the private sector of living, has been asserting itself against the mores of an earlier and

more controlled period. Challenges against the controls of the past are also evident in civil disobedience -- both violent and non-violent. In these respects the radical students and democrats are questioning the prevailing politically relevant standards. Their stronger emphasis on assistance to the underdog, although part of the American ethic for a goodly period, and the foundation for public welfare programs extending back to the mid thirties, is a more emphatic expression rather than a new or contrary direction.

Finally, the rejection of personal economic advancement seems the most contradictory and challenging, not so much to the American political system, but to economic and social mobility held out as a special feature of the American dream. These eddy groups appear to have tasted the fruits of economic security for themselves; feel they and others ought to help the less fortunate before or in addition to advancing themselves. This interpretation is consonant with the "share the wealth" cliche ascribed to some features of social reform advocated by the eddies. As pointed out earlier, ghetto residents could have provided a test of this interpretation which is now lacking.

Distinctive Features of the Navy Samples

Three features of both the Navy samples distinghished them from the civilians. They valued more strongly authority

and economic advancement, and were considerably less approving of compromise as a means of settling disputes. The first and third of these form a consistent picture one might reasonably expect of men in a military organization where direction from above predominates. The special strength attached to upward mobility is not easily interpreted within the confines of existing data, although some plausible hypotheses were offered.

How are the prisoners different from the other enlisted men? The brig prisoners set themselves off from all other samples -- civilian and Navy, by valuing the present over the future, having the weakest view of themselves, being most cynical and distrustful about the intentions of others. This pattern of values and perceptions in addition to what has already been said is intuitively understandable in the context of their status. Perhaps of signal importance is the finding that the brig prisoners as a whole were not disrespectful of authority as such, but instead perceived others as less trustworthy and altruistic than the prisoners thought they should be. It was this discrepancy between what they valued and what they perceived which set them off most markedly from all other samples.

Summary

The present study was designed as an effort to develop an instrument that would measure values relevant to the nature of political and other organizational controls. The various samples on which the instrument was tried out have shown similarities and differences largely consistent with what is known about them. In one sense, nothing startling has been discovered about the respondent samples. On the other hand, in spite of instrument reliability estimates lower than desirable in some areas, the results without great charity can be described as possessing a high degree of construct validity. Furthermore, data analysis has suggested a number of means for improving reliability and reducing ambiguity in a number of items and scales. It is evident also that a scale measuring violence as a value to counterpoise compromise is needed as well as one or more internal checks on respondent consistency. Furthermore, although a wide spectrum of respondent populations was sampled going beyond the conventional student populations, it is also evident that other populations -- welfare recipients, other military groups, government officials, a wider sample of students, non-governmental political leaders, would enhance the interpretations and refine the measures, that would in turn provide insights about the value dynamics controlling organizational life.

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Appendix

FACTOR I

N	49	58	60	27	76	78	75	
	A.S.	Rad.	Mod.	Rot.	Dem.	N.	N.B.	F Ratio
	2.27	2.32	2.36	2.37	2.18	2.45	2.41	2.17*

Item #		Reliability	Weight	Pre-pilot Factor	Pre-pilot Weight
51B	People in control of community affairs ought to pay more attention to what the general public wants.	.15	.46		
15B	People in power in this country ought not to use their influence to pass a law known to be contrary to the best public interests. (A97)**	.27	.37		
77B	Men who make laws ought to work out compromises instead of doing what only one pressure group wants.	.49	.37		
6B	Community improvement should be the concern of only a few leaders in the community.	.03	-.31		
53B	A leader should not be concerned about his own status, only about doing good. (A66)	.26	-	5	-.56
78B	A leader ought to convince followers of the right things to do before giving orders.	.77	-		
24B	A good leader is one who subordinates his own interests for some higher cause. (A67)	.46	-		

* One way analysis of variance.

** Items with code numbers as indicated were used in the pre-pilot study in Honolulu.

FACTOR II

A.S.	Rad.	Mod.	Rot	Dem.	N.	N.B.	F Ratio
4.25	5.06	4.60	4.16	5.19	4.18	4.32	23.45

Item #		Reliability	Weight	Pre-pilot Factor	Pre-pilot Weight
56B	Censorship is a good thing if there isn't too much of it.	.59	.69		
65B	Censorship protects those who lack judgment or experience to choose for themselves.	.45	.63		
20B	Censorship is needed because most people are unable to judge for themselves.	.55	.47		
47B	I doubt if any censorship is wise.	.70	-.67		
29B	A truly free people must be allowed to choose their own reading and entertainment.	.58	-.55		
83B	Nobody has any right to dictate to me what I shall read.	.67	-.53		
38B	Control of what we want to read can never be justified in a free country.	.37	-.49		
2B	People should be allowed to make their own distinctions between good and bad.	.61	-.27		
75B	There is a strong tendency among my friends to criticize the way the government is run. (A56)	.57	-.22	1	.41

FACTOR III

A.S.	Rad.	Mod.	Rot.	Dem.	N.	N.B.	F Ratio
3.82	3.51	3.47	4.28	3.84	3.49	3.09	18.45

Item #		Reliability	Weight	Pre-pilot Factor	Pre-pilot Weight
18B	Everyone is out for himself at the expense of other people.	.44	.45		
72B	Most people inwardly dislike putting themselves out to help other people. (A90)	.39	.39	2	.47
45B	Very few people will risk injuries to themselves to help someone else in trouble. (A84)	.64	.35	2	.51
54B	Few people really stick to their claims of being honest and moral when they don't have to. (A86)	.50	.29	2	.47
89B	Most people I personally know like to avoid responsibilities and obligations especially regarding community or public affairs. (A57)	.37	.25	4	.42
63B	Most people are basically honest. (A83)	.74	-.61	2	.56
34B	Fundamentally the world we live in is a friendly place. (A39)	.43	-.56	6	.43
36B	Most people lead clean, decent lives. (A92)	.31	-.53	2	.55
9B	Most people who trust others are treated fairly in return. (A95)	.33	-.45	2	.60
37B	It is to be expected that people will generally have a hopeful view of the future. (A38)	.21	-.37	1	-.41
90B	People pretend to care more about one another than they really do.	.56	-		
35B	To think of one's own happiness is to follow a realistic path. (A26)	.71	-	6	-.62

FACTOR IV

A.S.	Rad.	Mod.	Rot.	Dem.	N.	N.B.	F Ratio
4.30	3.54	3.82	4.68	4.19	3.77	3.27	18.45

Item #		Reliability	Weight	Pre-pilot Factor	Pre-pilot Weight
52B	Sometimes but not often strangers seem to be looking at me critically. (A35)	.39	.70	6	-.39
17B	At times I think I am no good at all. (A25)	.58	.67	4	.60
80B	I have often felt that strangers were looking at me critically. (A23)	.16	.65	4	.62
71B	I often feel completely powerless to do anything worth while. (A44)	.47	.56	4	.63
62B	So many other people vote in the national elections that it doesn't matter much to me whether I vote or not.	.31	.43		
8B	People like me don't have any say about what the government does.	.62	.35		
25B	It is only natural for a person to be rather fearful of the future. (A28)	.54	.32	12	.50
16B	Fundamentally the world we live in is a pretty lonesome place. (A29)	.01	.30	6	.67

FACTOR V

A.S.	Rad.	Mod.	Rot.	Dem.	N.	N.B.	F Ratio
3.81	3.71	3.65	3.80	3.74	3.87	4.05	2.64

Item #		Reli-ability	Weight	Pre-pilot Factor	Pre-pilot Weight
30B	People who know the most ought to decide how things should run.	.46	.40		
69B	It is to be expected that some people should control organizations but be displaced when the regular members are displeased. (A45)	.50	.40	5	-.63
76B	A man who does not believe in some great cause has not really lived. (A22)	.69	.38	3	.62
60B	The leader who tries to maintain friendly relations among all members of his group is bound to fail. (A75)	.40	.28		
82B	Men should not be blamed for putting career above family.	.69	.26		
42B	A member of a lawmaking assembly should not be under the obligation to comply with views expressed by the voters. (A72)	.59	.24	5	.47

FACTOR VI

A.S.	Rad.	Mod.	Rot.	Dem.	N.	N.B.	F Ratio
4.36	4.08	4.20	4.50	4.34	3.49	3.40	28.95

Item #		Reli-ability	Weight	Pre-pilot Factor	Weight
59B	To compromise with our political opponents is to be guilty of appeasement. (A17)	.19	.65	8	.57
86B	To compromise with our political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to the betrayal of our own side. (A18)	.23	.60		
32B	In a conflict of opinion never give your opponent a break.	.08	.51		
41B	To give up a small point in an argument is an admission of weakness.	.09	.46		
61B	Talking about the way things are run doesn't do any good.	.69	.41		
40B	Politicians spend most of their time getting re-elected or re-appointed.	.54	.29		
23B	Compromising with political opponents is not the same as appeasement. (A27)	.54	-.47	4	.62
50B	When strong opinions differ, a compromise satisfies neither side.	.45	-		

FACTOR VII

A.S.	Rad.	Mod.	Rot.	Dem.	N.	N.B.	F Ratio
4.13	3.90	3.72	4.17	4.09	3.68	3.24	13.74

Item #		Reliability	Weight	Pre-pilot Factor	Pre-pilot Weight
46B	It is more important to take care of present needs than build for the future. (A94)	.48	.60	II	.43
88B	Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.	.34	.46		
79B	People ought to take care of themselves and not worry about what is going on in other places.	.25	.40		
43B	There isn't any safe way to live in the world so it is just a question of what chances and risks we want to take.	.49	.37		
64B	It is better to save for an opportunity in the future than to spend time and money on small things now. (A91)	.34	-.34	I	-.33
7B	The more one tries to understand the world he lives in, the more difficult it is to predict what will happen. (A19)	.34	-	6	-.31

FACTOR VIII

A.S.	Rad.	Mod.	Rot.	Dem.	N.	N.B.	F Ratio
3.03	3.06	3.27	3.08	2.69	3.26	3.16	6.31

Item #		Reliability	Weight	Pre-pilot Factor	Pre-pilot Weight
49B	People should be kinder to others less fortunate than themselves.	.53	.43		
26B	A person who thinks primarily of his own happiness is beneath contempt. (A16)	.32	.29	4	.38
39B	Governmental organizations are so complex that widespread participation of citizens in decision-making is impossible. (A73)	.45	-.32	1	.39
58B	One cannot really expect public officials to be impartial and treat all segments of the general population as equals. (A64)	.37	-.24	3	-.42
67B	It is only natural to expect that people in government positions should favor those people who give them money or favors. (A63)	.42	-.22	3	-.48
4B	To help oneself is good; to help others is even better.	.35	-		

FACTOR X_M

A.S.	Rad.	Mod.	Rot.	Dem.	N.	N.B.	F Ratio
3.52	4.21	3.65	3.40	4.07	3.09	3.10	33.67

Item #		Reliability	Weight	Pre-pilot Factor	Pre-pilot Weight
1B	One of the greatest satisfactions of old age is to look back on a series of advancements to a higher station in life. (A82)	.59	.52	1	.55
55B	Children ought to move forward and reach a higher station in life than their parents. (A88)	.61	.47	1	-.46
19B	I often wonder why men working at unskilled jobs don't try to better themselves. (A85)	.56	.41	1	-.54
73B	One earns the greatest respect from others if the advances to higher positions in life. (A77)	.75	.35	1	-.40
28B	If you try hard enough, you can usually get what you want.	.50	.35		
81B	The system we live under makes some good people failures. (A24)	.52	-.42		
22B	One should be concerned that persons not of the prevailing religious, racial or ethnic backgrounds have equal opportunity in this country today.	.09	-.38		

FACTOR X_F

A.S.	Rad.	Mod.	Rot.	Dem.	N.	N.B.	F Ratio
3.87	4.51	3.92	3.57	4.51	3.25	3.32	65.05

Item #		Reliability	Weight	Pre-pilot Factor	Pre-pilot Weight
48B	What youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination and the will to work and fight for family and country. (A5)	.57	.67	1	.60
12B	One should accept the laws of the country because they are devised by men of wisdom who have the best interests of the country at heart. (A59)	.55	.63	1	.57
3B	Obedience and respect for authority are the two most important virtues children should learn. (A2)	.80	.61	1	.69
84B	The police should be given greater freedom to enforce the law than is the case in this country.	.57	.58		
57B	The government should have the right to prohibit certain groups who disagree with our form of government from holding public meetings.	.60	.47		
21B	In the complicated world of ours the only way we can know what is going on is to rely on leaders or experts who can be trusted. (A3)	.75	.45	1	.37
87B	The most important thing for a leader to do is make decisions and stick by them.	.35	.42		
13B	Bribing public officials to pass laws benefiting a few people is after all not un unreasonable practice. (A50)	.71	.29		
66B	An individual should refuse to bear arms in a war he believes is unjust. (A54)	.82	-.53	1	.45

FACTOR X_F (continued)

A.S.	Rad.	Mod.	Rot.	Dem.	N.	N.B.	F Ratio
3.87	4.51	3.92	3.57	4.51	3.25	3.32	65.05

Item #		Reliability	Weight	Pre-pilot Factor	Weight
74B	We have too many laws.	.47	-.21		
11B	The freedom to express one's ideas in public and to persons in authority is too limited today. (A51)	.35	-.19	11	.48
68B	It is often desirable to reserve judgment about what's going on until one has a chance to hear the opinions of those one respects. (A12)	.47	-	2	.36

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F. Kenneth Berrien
Floyd D. Turner

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13. ABSTRACT

Founded on a systems model of political processes and a review of studies relating values to political controls, 90 value items were administered to "mainstream" and "eddy" (dissenting) groups, including moderate and radical students, Rotarians, members of the New Democratic Coalition, Navy enlisted men, and Navy brig prisoners for the purpose of (a) devising an instrument for measuring politically relevant values and (b) exploring the values dynamics underlying dissent. Ten factored scales were identified, some of which discriminated among the separate samples. All samples concurred on values basic to democratic processes but differed in their perceptions of the implementation of those ideals, and their own political influence. Data analysis revealed several ways in which the instrument may be improved, yet the scores obtained conformed well with known features of the samples. (U)

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